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CHINESE AGGRESSION AND NEHRU'S VOLTE FACE

(Address delivered at the Conference on Chinese Aggression held on February 20, 1960, in Calcutta)

THE RAPE OF TIBET

It is just about a year ago that the world at large, and India in particular, were stunned at the news of the savage doings of Communist China in Tibet. Ruthless methods were employed in trying to quell the National uprising in Tibet against Chinese misrule since China's forcible occupation of Tibet in 1950-51. Millions of Chinese Hans were planted on Tibet's soil, the indigenous population driven out, and tens of thousands massacred,—resulting in virtual genocide of the whole Tibetan race. Monasteries were desecrated and Tibet's age-old culture sought to destroyed. His Holiness the Dalai Lama—with thousands of Tibetans—had to seek asylum in India.

TIBET AS A "BUFFER STATE" DISAPPEARS

From the point of view of India herself—apart from all questions of humanity and Tibet's right to freedom—her own security was in danger ; for with the elimination of Tibet, the role of Tibet as a "Buffer State" between India and China was gone ; and at one jump, ambitious expansionist China was brought right to the borders of India.

NEHRU'S IGNOBLE ROLE AND ITS NEMESIS

All this while, the Government of India headed by Jawaharlal Nehru remained a passive and silent spectator of this inhuman tragedy. The Indo-Chinese Agreement of 1954 (better known as the '*Pancha-Sheela*' Agreement)—in which China promised to respect the autonomy and culture of Tibet—was thrown to the winds ; and Nehru had not the guts to protest or to denounce the Agreement. The same ignoble role played by Nehru in 1950-51, when China overran Tibet and occupied it by force of arms, was repeated this time. The only decent thing that the Nehru Government did was the granting of asylum to His Holiness the Dalai Lama—and that too, out of sheer pressure of Indian public opinion which was indignant at China's outrageous conduct. Possibly Pandit Nehru thought that by throwing Tibet to the wolves, he would be able to save his own skin. But there too he miscalculated ; for making sure of Nehru's weakness and passivity, the wolves are now at his own door-steps. That is how Nemesis works.

CHINA'S PERFIDY AND NEHRU'S SUPPRESSION OF FACTS

Nehru is now reeling and squealing at the doings of his '*Pancha-Sheela*' partner. Not that his Chinese friend had waited for the liquidation of Tibet to strike a blow at India's frontiers ; for it now appears that as long ago as July, 1954—when the ink on the '*Pancha-Sheela*' Agreement had hardly dried—that the Chinese began their border incursions (in the Garhwal Region of the U.P.), and two years later, grabbed a large slice of Ladakh in Kashmir in the Aksai-Chin area, in which they constructed a 100-mile road right across Indian territory. The Nehru Government kept all these facts of Chinese aggression suppressed from the Indian public, for fear that they might get excited about it and his '*Pancha-Sheela*' friend be offended.

VEIL OF SECRECY LIFTED : CHINA'S BLACK RECORD

Only about six months ago, towards the end of August last, this veil of secrecy was lifted—and in the meantime, China had occupied some 20,000 square miles of Indian territory in Ladakh (Kashmir)—an area larger than the entire State of Kerala (as Nehru himself had to admit later in Parliament) ; and the veil was not lifted spontaneously, but rent open by shocking events in another area of the Himalayan borders, *viz.* Longju in NEFA. Questions were asked in Parliament, and Nehru could no longer conceal unpleasant facts. Insistent inter-

pellations—in which the Bharatiya Jana Sangha took a leading part through its Party Leader in the Loka Sabha, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee M.P.—compelled the India Government to bring out "White Papers", which are but black records of China's breach of faith and aggressiveness. All India was aflame with indignation at China's perfidy and Nehru's supineness, and demanded instant action to be taken to drive out the aggressors. But Nehru would not budge ; he merely indulged in verbal heroics from time to time to pacify the public but would take no action, and was evidently only playing for time.

NEHRU'S BIRTHDAY PRESENT AT KONGKA PASS

On October 21 last, however, another outrage occurred, viz. that of Kongka Pass, when an Indian patrol party was fired upon, several killed and the rest captured and later brutally tortured ; and on November 14 (Nehruji's birthday), the corpses of those killed were sent back to Nehru—probably as a Birthday present. Still Nehru would do nothing tangible to clear the soil of India from the invaders, but took shelter in interminable correspondence and writing historical theses on India's Himalayan borders. All this is now ancient history.

NEHRU'S REFUSAL TO MOBILIZE ASIAN OPINION

Public opinion in India demanded—except of course the Communists, who are consistently operating on India's soil as China's Fifth Column (and the Nehru Government does nothing to curb their treasonable activities)—that apart from military measures, diplomatic steps be taken in this connection to mobilize Asian opinion, and secure the moral sympathy and co-operation of the Free Nations of Southern and Eastern Asia in the dangerous situation created by Red China's vaulting ambition. But Nehru with his characteristic obstinacy —and possibly out of his cravenness—refused to take any steps, military, diplomatic, or otherwise, that might offend his Big Brother.

NEHRU'S INACTION DEMORALIZES BORDER STATES

People of these areas naturally were on the watch as to how India would act in this crisis. People nearer home—in the Border States—Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan—intimately connected with India and depending for their safety and security ultimately upon India, were bewildered at Nehru's attitude. They began to feel that Nehru was a broken reed to rely upon, and that they had better make terms with China while there was yet time. When Nehru pompously proclaimed in India's Parliament that an attack on Nepal would be regarded as an attack on India and would be resisted by India, there was loud laughter at Khatmandu. There it was remarked, Well, Nehru who does not dare or care to defend his own territory in Kashmir, Garhwal and NEFA—this Nehru would rush to our defence ! These States have lost all faith in India—they have been demoralized. It is really not surprising if our Border States have begun to feel like this—for it comes from the sheer instinct of self-preservation and a realistic view of things.

COMMUNIST 'MONGOLOID' PROPAGANDA

Besides, there are Communist elements in all these Border States, and Chinese propaganda therein is wide-spread and insidious. Further, the Chinese are preaching also racial theories—pointing out that these people are Mongoloid by race and allied more to the Chinese than to the Indians, and holding out the lure of a "Himalayan Federation" of all these Mongoloid races —of course under Red China's umbrella. A young Jana Sangh leader, Prof. Balraj Madhok of Delhi, has recently made a tour round some of these North-Eastern areas (including Sikkim), and seen the baneful effects of this insidious propaganda—in which the Indian Communists (particularly of Bengal and Assam) are taking a prominent part.

CHINA'S DIPLOMATIC OFFENSIVE : "ISOLATING INDIA"

Pandit Nehru may feel that the quintessence of political wisdom lies in doing nothing ; but the Chinese, realists as they are, feel and act differently. Apart from the propaganda campaign referred to just now, China has set about the task of "isolating India" from other uncommitted Free Nations of Asia, whose co-operation and sympathy Nehru has done nothing to secure. China is trying quickly to make up her quarrel with Indonesia, where recently there flared up a terrific row over Indonesia's drastic action in rounding up the Chinese

settlers. (By the by, the Nehru Government has done nothing to counter the potential menace in India of thousands of Chinese swarming in the big cities here). Chou En-lai is now all smiles towards the Border States of India —Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan. He has just concluded a Sino-Burmese Agreement that had been hanging fire for the last six years. The diplomatic offensive of China has been thorough, and India's encirclement is almost complete. Nehruji's only strategy seems to be to lionize Voroshilov and Khrushchev of Communist Russia and arrange big receptions for them in India, in the fond hope that they will perhaps take some steps to soften the Chinese dragon. But these Russian dignitaries keep rigidly mum on the Indo-China issue, contenting themselves with uttering pious platitudes ; in the meanwhile, official Russia declares that the bonds between Russia and China are "unbreakable", while India is only a "Friend".

CHINA'S MILITARY PREPAREDNESS

That is the present position in a nut-shell. From all dependable reports it is learnt that apart from her diplomatic offensive, China's military preparations across the border are formidable and almost complete. Strategic roads already built up to the border during the last few years are being used for the transport of tanks and other equipments of mountain-warfare. Lhasa, Gyantse, Gartok, Shigatse, etc. have been converted into arsenals with massing of troops and war-materials. Transverse roads parallel to the border on the Tibetan side have been constructed for the rapid transfer of troops from one point to another. In Ladakh, besides the 100-mile long Aksai-Chin Road constructed two years ago, many feeder roads are being built ; and it is curious that the India Government are not in a position even to know anything about it—for Nehru dares not send out patrols (lest there be a clash), nor to order aerial reconnaissance (lest his planes be shot down), nor to ask India's Ambassador at Peking to make enquiries about it or visit the area concerned (for in Communist China such things are not allowed). What a pathetic confession to make for the Prime Minister of India over foreigners' doings on Indian territory ! It seems that China is waiting for the Himalayan snows to melt before launching a major offensive on the plains of India. Even if China does not immediately move down to the plains, she will be in a position to pose an imminent and permanent threat on India's Northern borders.

NEHRU'S *VOLTE FACE* : INVITATION TO CHOU EN-LAI

In India, people had fondly hoped that Nehru would take prompt and adequate steps to make ready her military machine, so that—as soon as the snows melt and military operations are feasible—effective action would be taken to expel the Chinese, if in the meantime diplomatic action does not induce the Chinese to clear out. But all these hopes have been dashed to the ground by the latest move of Nehru in inviting Chou En-lai for "talks" in New Delhi—without the latter vacating Indian territory. This is quite a reversal of the policy that Nehru has at least verbally followed up-to-date. He had been very insistent (up till the Kerala elections were over) on China's vacating our occupied territory before any talks could be usefully held. Nehru's letters to the Chinese Premier had been on this basis ; he had gone further, and said that "there was no room or basis for negotiations", for the Himalayan borders of India are well-known and recognized for decades, if not for centuries. He had even turned down in December last Chou En-lai's invitation to meet him at Rangoon on this account. But Nehruji has now performed a *volte face*. Of course he tries to prevaricate ; he says "talks" are not "negotiations". What then will the two precious '*Pancha-Sheela*' pals be talking about—the weather ?

NEHRU'S DOUBLE-DEALING : DISMISSAL DESERVED

Nehru however has tried to keep this change of front and somersault suppressed as long as he possibly could. On the 12th February last, he put on a brave face in the Rajya Sabha declaring that "there was no room for negotiations" ; while the fact is that a week previously, on the 5th February, he had invited Chou En-lai for "talks"—unconditionally, and as an "Honoured Guest", to New Delhi. In the President's address delivered on the opening of Parliament on the 8th February, it had been definitely stated that talks were only possible "under appropriate conditions"—and now all that solemn assurance is thrown to the winds ! Such double-dealing and *suppressio veri* and

suggestio falsi on the part of a man in Nehru's position are almost unthinkable. The Prime Minister has put the President in a very false position ; it looks as if Nehru had not informed Dr. Rajendra Prasad about his latest move of inviting Chou En-lai, just as he had suppressed from him the Chinese occupation of Aksai-Chin plateau two years ago. For such double-dealing and dishonourable conduct, a Prime Minister anywhere in the world would deserve instant dismissal.

NEHRU-MENON TWINS PLANNING A "SELL-OUT"

It is now clear that Nehru—in concert with his chum Krishna Menon, his incomparable Defence Minister (who has begun to bleat about not surrendering "administered territories")—is playing a deep game ; in fact, preparing the ground for surrendering to China the territories occupied by her aggression. They seem to be planning a "sell-out"—much to the satisfaction of their Communist friends at home and abroad. Nationalist India demands that that must not be. No one—Nehru or Menon or any other—must be allowed to "sell the pass". The Nation must make it clear that the aggressor must be given no further time to dig in. The Nation's motto must be, "They shall not pass" through our borders. The issues are much too serious—one must call a spade a spade—fine buttered unctuous phrasing is out of place now.

THE TWINS MUST GO

The plain duty of all patriotic Parties and citizens is to issue a warning to the Nehru-Menon twins that if they cannot cope with this crisis except by surrender, they had better resign and go, and make room for people who can tackle the situation as it has to be done, and who can unleash the mighty forces of the Indian Nation to hurl back the invaders across the Himalayas, restore to Tibet her pristine independence, and place the security and integrity of India beyond the depredations of all gangster expansionist Powers. Public opinion must be mobilized throughout India effectively to counter all defeatist and disruptive tendencies and activities. That is the great task to which the Nation must dedicate itself in this hour of crisis.

THE COMMUNIST ROUT IN KERALA

(Press Statement made on February 5, 1960)

News from Kerala is really heartening. The Communists have been routed at the polls. The Communist Party during its over-two-years old term of Government had converted the Government into a Party machinery ; and, last summer, the people of Kerala, under the inspiration of their revered leader Mr. Mannath Padmanabhan, rose in revolt, entered upon a "Struggle for Liberation" (*Vimochana Samara*), and succeeded in overthrowing the Communist Government. To-day that triumph has been registered anew at the polls. It shows that the heart of India is sound. If only the patriotic elements unite, the Communist canker can easily be stamped out of the Indian body-politic. That is the lesson of Kerala. Congratulations to the people of Kerala and their leader, Mannamji, on their showing the way ; only, the people must continue the good work so happily begun.

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